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Grazing to Gravy: Faunal Remains and Indications of Genízaro Foodways on the Spanish Colonial Frontier of New Mexico

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Abstract Understanding identity aspects of those labeled Genízaro during the late Spanish Colonial period of New Mexico benefits from finer-grained perspectives on what ranges and mixtures of practices persons bearing this *casta* designation may have performed while preparing cuisine. Materials from the northern frontier site of Casitas Viejas (LA 917) suggest that the closely related households of this fortified plaza may have departed from the less expansive culinary practices of colonial elites while drawing from their multiple social relationships at the various stages of production and consumption of foods. In other words, at different temporal and spatial scales, behaviors reflected in the material record refute historical notions about a creolized community that tried to diminish identity difference within the village. The goal of this work is to explore through the study of faunal remains some of the relationships between foodways and cultural identity in a manner that might assist in some disentangling of the sticky problems archaeologists face in interpreting traces of dynamic past situations of identity from a static material record recovered today.

Keywords Social identities · Foodways · Spanish colonial New Mexico · Genízaro

Introduction

At its most powerful, identity is performative. Actions of self and community are referenced not only by differences from what others do, but also by the unique particularities in similar activities or shared material culture that are potentially laden with the marking of inclusion and community cohesion. Because absolutely

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everybody eats, the complex sequences of relationships and actions that make up the performance of eating described as foodways (Anderson 1971) create rich, iterative assemblages. Foodways are cultural systems (Levi-Strauss 1997) of meal selection, preparation, consumption, and disposal (Gumerman 1997). Each step in these sequences are opportunities for performances, if not indicative of belonging, then at least referential participation within a larger community (Appadurai 1986). As a set of meanings and interpretations for multiple situations, foodways provide texture to understand identities expressed by or constructed by the choices made at each step in the sequence. Interactions involved in foodways result in a community (Barth 1969, p. 16) marked by shared materiality and practices. Archaeologists tracking modes of learning and belonging via an approach to defining a community or communities of practice (Lave 1982) have demonstrated convincingly that material trends can exhibit different types of belonging at multiple scales of performance (Atalay and Hastorf 2006; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Orser 2012; Voss 2008). Building upon this work, a closer examination of practices at a late Spanish Colonial New Mexican frontier community suggests that identity performances playing to multiple forms of indigenous and colonial audiences complicate the kinds of labels that not only colonial administrators, but also modern scholars might apply to the site. As reflected in the faunal record, divergent cultural practices and economic fortunes within this small settlement challenge interpretations of a homogeneous Genízaro community of poor *vecinos*.

The Rito Colorado Valley of North Central New Mexico provides an ideal location to archaeologically explore how a community of Indo-Hispano (Lamadrid 2003) families with shared heritage experiences of captivity as Genízaros created and reproduced their social identities at different scales and contexts of practice. Their fortified buffer settlement was most likely inhabited from 1750 to approximately 1800 (Quintana and Snow 1980; Sunseri 2009) when the end of major hostilities with non-allied nomadic communities allowed for a move to easier irrigation and richer bottomlands at the north of the valley in what would become a much less fortified and defendable, present-day village of El Rito. The Spanish colonial administration established such buffer settlements – during the most intense and disruptive period of conflict ever seen on the northern frontier – to protect centers of administration from nomadic raiders who captured and enslaved women and children from the colonists and their allies. The historical archaeological site of LA 917, known to the descendant community in contemporary El Rito as Casitas Viejas and to archaeologists as the type site for Casitas Red-on-Brown Pottery (Dick 1968), was one focus of buffer settlement during this volatile period (Fig. 1). Villages like this, scattered along raiding and trading routes through the Southern Rocky Mountains, were composed largely of non-Iberian-born people living in mixed communities. Such buffer villages were often established by Genízaros, former captive Native American peoples brought up in colonial households to earn their way towards citizen status (Brooks 2002; Swadesh 1974). Baptismal records from the Genízaro mother village of Abiquiú (Martinez 1993) suggest that those who made a home together at Casitas came from Spanish, Pueblo, Apache, and possibly Ute, Navajo, Comanche, and other backgrounds.

The tack followed here narrows the focus in both spatial and temporal scales to explore the dynamics of foodways expressed in the material category of fauna and how such dynamics are connected to other material signatures such as those in ceramics and

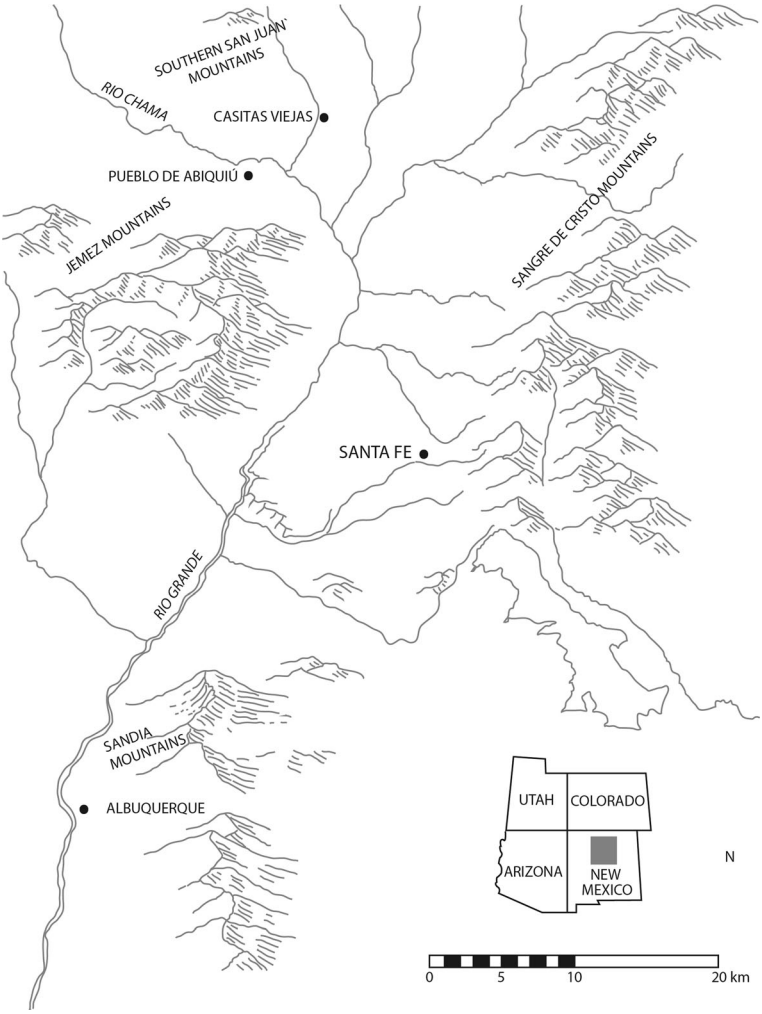

Fig. 1 Northern New Mexico with the capital at Santa Fe, the Pueblo de Abiquiú, and the site of Casitas Viejas

use of space. The intent is to explore these signatures within the material residues of the small frontier buffer community that occupied the short-duration, single component site of Casitas.

The Edge of the Spanish Colonial World

Eighteenth-century New Mexico was a colony literally and figuratively at the very limits of Spain's New World projects. An expansive internal province at the end of the distant and dangerous overland supply route known as the *Jornada del Muerto* (Journey of the Dead) this particular frontier world and its people were imagined as dangerous in illuminated maps commissioned by elite administrators (Kessell 2013), as

well as commissioned art that depicted socioracial systems of hierarchy (Katzew 2004). The historical record rarely describes the realities of lived experience in the vanguard of new, tiny settlements that sparsely dotted an emerging landscape of relationships between administrative towns, their Pueblo neighbors, and more mobile communities of Utes, Navajos, Apaches, and Comanches. On the frontlines of making community, these buffer villages became deeply embedded in a Native American world with deep historical entanglements of its own (Adler 1996; Basso 1996; Cordell 1997; Gutiérrez 1991; Habicht-Mauche 1993; Kessell 1979; F. Levine 1999; Maxwell 1995; Ortiz 1969; Schroeder 1992; Spielmann et al. 1990; Swadesh 1979; Thomas 1940; Weinstein 2001; Wilcox and Masse 1981; Wilcox 2009; Woosley 1986). The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 demonstrated powerfully to Spanish administrators how the longevity of the New Mexican colony was dependent upon more deeply considered alignments to Native American political economies. When colonial settlers returned to the north twelve years later, once again small, fortified communities of those lowest in the socioracial casta hierarchy were tasked to raise their families in harm's way as buffers for larger administrative centers like Santa Fe. At the tip of the spear, Genízaro communities like those at the famous Pueblo de Abiquiú and its satellite outpost at Casitas Viejas (Carrillo 1997; Gonzales 2001; Martinez 1993) lived exposed to the peril and the opportunities of frontline conflict and negotiation with the many Native American communities from which they originated.

For Genízaros, their role as citizen soldiers was encoded in their very name. This particular casta category may have been named after the Janissary corps, or *yeni cheri* of the Ottoman Turks (Chavez 1979), who took young captives and made them into their most mobile and devastating soldiers, loyal to none but their unit and the empire. Or perhaps the designation is derived from small Graniczarów militia units, free subjects exempted from tax burdens for their services to defend the Hapsburgs' eastern European bulwarks (Good 1984). Either way, a sense of Genízaro weaponry, numbers, and overall strategic position in eighteenth-century Spanish Colonial New Mexico (Brooks 2002, p. 253) reveals the gulf of difference between the colonial administration's suppositions about frontier defense and remote communities' ability to hold an imaginary line by force alone. Yet, in return for community land grants, northern villagers like those at Casitas Viejas were expected to serve as a buffer between the larger towns of the colony and far-ranging parties of mounted raiders who took livestock and human captives as part of a reciprocal economy of violence (Blackhawk 2007). Oral and performance traditions (Lamadrid 2003; Rodríguez 1996) suggest that exceptional diplomacy and the ability to mobilize more than one cultural affiliation were the real sources of survival for these buffer villages.

Historical accounts (Chavez 1979; Rael-Gàlvez 2002; Ríos-Bustamante 1976; Snow 1992) enumerate the diversity of *casta* designations and heritages that were part of the lived experiences of Spanish Colonial New Mexico. As a result, archaeologists have long struggled with the fluidity of colonial-era identities in this region (Cordell 1998). Despite intense interest in Indo-Hispano roots and culture (Lamadrid 2000), researchers lack finer-grained perspectives than the general assertion that today's "rural Hispano villages in New Mexico are a product, for the most part, of the last quarter of the eighteenth century" (Snow 1979, p. 50). The archaeological record of foodways at one of the most northern colonial frontier outposts suggests that a critical component of their strategy of resilience on an often violent middle ground was the community's

ability to mobilize various aspects of producing and serving appropriate cuisine to friends and foes with which they could demonstrate kinship.

To investigate Genízaro foodways, I consider the material signatures of actions through which animals differentially became food then refuse. A goat browsed in the foothills overseen by shepherds, who then divide the whole into portions, then further processed the meat in a micaceous pot, becoming part of a blood and fat-rich gravy presented in an individual flanged bowl over a serving of *panza de cabrito rellena* (Gilbert 1970, p. 13). The goat's shattered and boiled bone fragments were tossed into a household dump. This "grazing to gravy" approach anchors the material evidence for the use of animals in the foodways of multiple households and permits exploration of various communities of practice.

A Grazing to Gravy Approach

People and communities exist within social constraints that they may or may not be aware of in their totality. Fortunately for archaeologists, they reproduce and modify those constraints through identity expressions in their daily practices (Bourdieu 1977). Because changing situations can affect the ways in which people relate to material and social constraints, the physical traces of those relationships reveal affiliations to group membership or social distinction and differentiation (Appadurai 1981; Voss and Allen 2008). The challenge to archaeology is that choices made within changing social constraints are expected to be marked in the material record of people's lives, and this fluidity of identity thus cannot be easily assessed using static trait lists.

Previous studies have critiqued the use of material correlates to directly associate particular identities with particular items and worked through the material signature of processes to illuminate what kinds of practices might be aligned differently between groups (Lightfoot et al. 1998). In such contexts it has been argued that the history of colonialism is structured by acculturative models and prejudices (Cusick 1998), so the investigation of ethnic, racial, and other identities in colonial settings must critically consider how material expectations may not fit with historical descriptions of markers of group membership. Similarly, identity dynamics cannot be expected to predictably shift along a continuum of acculturation or assimilation from a pre-contact material culture to a distinct post-contact variety (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Staski 1990). Less linear models for identity and cultural change in colonialism include dynamics of ethnogenesis (Cordell and Yannie 1991; Hall 2000; Voss 2008), creolization (Cusick 2000; Lenik 2008; Wilkie 2000), or hybridization (Card 2013; Deagan 1973; Young 1995). This investigation of identity leaves room for a fluidity (Lydon 2001) of identity practices in colonial settings while it critically considers how these dynamics may have played out over multiple scales of performance and expression.

Identity practices are marked on varying geographic scales, including local and regional variations in how people perceive and make changes in positioning themselves with respect to others. When identity is situated in contexts of conflict and confrontation (Schortman and Urban 1998), identity aspects can be seen as the critical conjuncture (Sahlins 1985) for a regionally or globally based conceptualization of opposing sides in contestations of power (Paynter and McGuire 1991; Schortman and Urban 1992; Silliman 2001; Wolf 1982). Historical archaeological theories of competition and

intergroup power differentials can be expanded to social scales which connect large social groupings as well as historically and geographically linked aspects of society (Deetz 1977; McGuire 1982). Macro-scale processes of varying identity valences might be tracked at landscape and village geographic scales (Sunseri 2014; Wernke 2007). Complementary but smaller temporal and spatial scale expressions of community membership might be explored via intimate processes implicated by daily foodways choices within a small Colonial-era village.

Identity performances as reflected in foodways behavior can be more easily understood in the context of considering colonial identities in terms of nested networks rather than boundaries (Cordell 2004). In this way, closed conceptualizations about mutually exclusive aggregates of people may be crosscut by relations that are not necessarily overt, or even consciously recognized by their actors. Bourdieu's (1977) analogy for not seeing, but being and becoming a part of a community of behavior via practice, is elegant in its illustration of the unconscious nature of learning rules (Stone 2003, p. 37). While the study of identity in archaeology has a substantial pedigree, studies of the importance of marking behavior within different realms of eating have been equally challenging and complex. Food and identity nucleate powerfully in archaeological studies of identity. This rich heritage of foodways studies in archaeology includes a spectrum of perspectives from caloric intake to socio-ritual efficacy and engages materials as diverse as isotopic signatures to wine residues to bowl decorations. More complete perspectives on the developments and themes in such work are reviewed more thoroughly by others (Dietler and Hayden 2001; Gumerman 1997; Twiss 2012).

Although performances of food can be a powerful way to not only reinforce but also create bonds of kinship between people, it is only one part of an array of variable strategies, processes, and practices that make up identity. Behaviors that contribute to these performances include meal selection and preparation, including labor expended in cooking (Dawdy 2010) and tastes catered to by the meal as part of commensality (Scholliers 2001). Since socioracial identity aspects had so many repercussions for colonial peoples (legally, economically, sexually) and were recorded in many colonial documents, the material expressions of foodways from communities labeled along this spectrum are particularly compelling places for exploring the reality of daily life for people who may or may not have lived the roles ascribed by others. Processes reflected in the archaeological record permit some exploration of this idea because performances of shared identity and the maintenance of social boundaries related to socioracial, class, labor, and other designations sometimes crosscut geographic, economic, or social categories of identity and community.

The politics of access to tools and food ingredients impact whether sameness or difference is signaled materially through fundamental foodways choices (Trigg 2004). Processing choices and cooking preparations (Rodríguez-Alegría and Graff 2012; Subías 2002) are other loci which contribute to our understandings of such signaling. These concepts connect the *habitus* of a particular group as embedded in family and cultural memory to how it was reproduced in the daily routines of kitchen and hearth. Foodways practices should be manifest in the material record as traces of labor and production in which smaller scale expressions of identity daily affect uses of space, culinary materials, and tools.

Following Gumerman's (1997, p. 107) food systems approach, my study of faunal assemblages from a late Spanish Colonial site in New Mexico considers step-wise

signatures of past behaviors such as acquisition, butchery, apportioning, culinary preparation, cooking, consumption, and disposal in different locations. This parallels the habitus represented by various material categories that cannot be disentangled when considering foodways that brought pots, animal, and plant products together daily (Hastorf and Atalay 2006). This "grazing to gravy" approach links human choices enacted on fauna to the ways that those actions were structured by both anatomical features of the animals and social and environmental contexts of processing. The body size and anatomy of different animals structured the way they were butchered, apportioned, and cooked or served in different ceramic vessels. Sheep and goat elements may have more complete anatomical representation in a given disposal loci than proportionately larger animals, such as cattle, for reasons that have to do with the amount of meat contained by an individual animal and the mechanics of disarticulation (Seetah 2006; Szuter 1996). In some New Mexican colonial sites, it has been suggested that because cattle were so much larger in size, butchering events resulted in shared portions among several households (Atkins 2001, p. 116). Moreover, the trade value and husbandry demands of the suite of introduced domesticates directly affected different colonial groups' access to them. For example, shepherds and household heads would have had different degrees of control over how pastoral livestock were used. By the same token, people engaged in far-ranging endeavors such as hunting, herding, or wood cutting could primarily drive opportunistic game procurement as well as effect package and transport decisions for animal portions. This may manifest in distinctly different provisioning chains as well as subsequent differences in the presence of wild versus domesticated species (e.g., Haecker 1976, p. 111) at each of the site's disposal loci. Where non-local animals were acquired, the requisite social relationships for trade with other groups may also have structured power differentials within the community on the northern frontier.

This approach to the archaeological faunal record takes into account which parts of which animals were consumed, the labor and technology that went into the production and presentation of food, and how animals and their products were distributed and discarded (Gumerman 1997, p. 105). It recognizes that each step in the process represented opportunities for the performance of identity between people in a group or between groups. In turn, evidence of these choices validates or refutes assumptions regarding homogenizing behaviors in a colonial frontier community. Furthermore, I suspect foodways behaviors were structured by access and tastes regarding not only the ingredients themselves, but also the tools to process and serve them (e.g., cutting tools, processing facilities, and ceramic vessels). In these ways, power differentials between the food preparer and the consumer may reflect the community processes of taste (Stahl 2002) and kitchen practice.

Faunal Remains in a Genízaro Context

Casitas Viejas was a short occupation, single component site which was created by only a handful of families when they "budded off" (Carrillo 1997; Gonzales 2001; Sunseri 2009) and went north from the famous Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú as the baptismals record (Martinez 1993; Quintana and Snow 1980). Its layout is characterized by multiple rooms arranged around a plazuela roughly like those versions that ring the

fortified central plaza at its mother village. Three disposal loci (Fig. 2) are interpreted as representing refuse of different households across this village. In addition to their different modes of deposition, the walking distance between each (ranging approximately 30 m to 100 m apart when taking architectural layout and obstacles into account), suggests that different households, or aggregates of households, were contributing to trash accumulation at each as separate use facilities. The spatial differentiation is an important aspect of the analytical framework for investigating the nature of foodways practices as they occurred at household levels of organization. Even though the ways that these deposits may overlap categories and typological schemes (Martin and Russell 2000, p. 59), I interpret household foodways practices such as selecting and using ceramic and faunal materials within and between each locus (Sunseri 2009) though this argument focuses on the latter. From these assemblages, a sample of approximately 1400 faunal elements identifiable to genus or species indicates that each locus represents different modes of trash deposition and foodways practices. This is a small sample size and so I offer only preliminary consideration of the fauna. Short of more excavation, which the descendant community does not want, this is the most complete set of animal remains to analyze for this small, short-lived community and yet even small faunal samples can help us add nuance to stories about past experiences with food (Heinrich and Giordano 2015). Because of the nature of withdrawal and reuse of architectural timbers from Casitas in resettlement at modern El Rito, the composition of the three disposal loci reflects remarkable adobe melt-capped preservation and appears to have been largely undisturbed since occupation.

Locus A was initially a borrow pit, probably the source of raw materials for adobe making, that was then slowly filled with household trash layered with ash. Though this mode of disposal has been observed in other New Mexican colonial sites (Atkins 2001, p. 116; Levine 1990, p. 170; Snow and Bowen 1995, p. 4) as well as in other Spanish

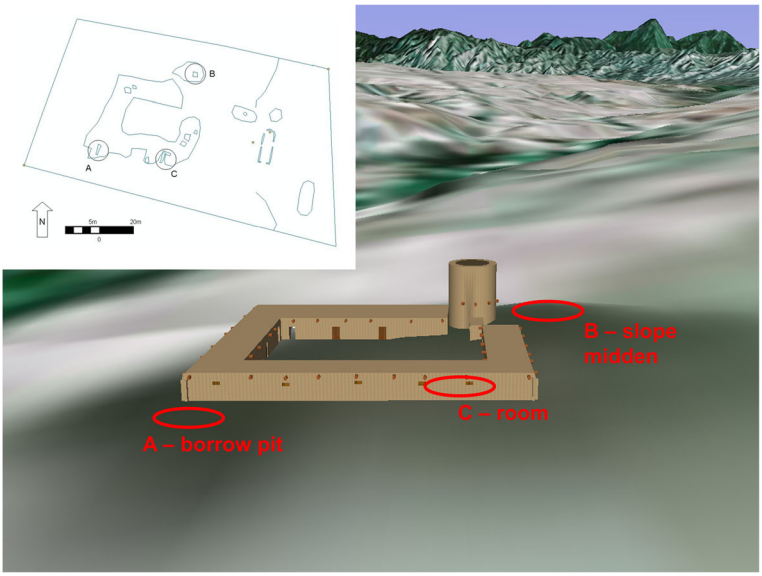

Fig. 2 Site map of Casitas Viejas with disposal loci A-C

colonial contexts (Smith-Lintner 2007, p. 127; Voss 2008, p. 124), this particular borrow pit is close to the river's edge and an exposure of clay-rich soil for the adobe mixture. The materials recovered from Locus A include faunal remains (NISP = 399, MNI = 19) and ceramic sherds along with ash, unidentifiable rusted metal fragments, and lithic debitage. The faunal assemblage is comprised mostly of larger domesticates such as cow, sheep, and goat, yet contains some chicken and the only pig at the site (Table 1). Beyond species identification, more information can be learned from the great preponderance of caprines and cattle at Casitas. Differences and similarities in how these animals, as foodways ingredients, were processed across the site, are evidenced by how these two species plus deer were portioned. The minimum animal units (MAU) statistic, of the minimum number of elements from the total number of those elements in the body, is used to characterize skeletal completeness in an abundance profile that references the percentage of the highest MAU (Binford 1981; Grayson 1984; Hill 2001; Lyman 1994; Reitz and Wing 1999; Scheiber 2001). Organizing the elements into groupings of forequarters, axial plus ribs, and hind-quarters (shown left to right in Fig. 3) helps to organize and compare these processes between loci. For these animals - especially cattle, caprines, and deer - heavily muscled, appendicular portions were more

Table 1 Comparative taxonomic representation in disposal loci

Taxon	Locus A NISP/MNI	Locus B NISP/MNI	Locus C NISP/MNI
Mammal	50	123	29
Artiodactyla	68	81	35
Antilocapra americana (pronghorn)	12/1	18/2	10/3
Cervus canadensis (elk)	14/2	18/2	5/2
Odocoileus hemionus (deer)	19/2	29/3	16/1
Sus scrofa (pig)	11/2	1/1	2/1
Bos taurus (cow)	30/3	28/2	28/3
Bison bison (buffalo)		2/1	3/2
Caprini (sheep & goats)	63	89	36
Capra hircus (goat)	68/3	83/3	43/2
Ovis aries (sheep)	61/3	64/4	61/4
Equus caballus (horse)		13/2	8/2
Carnivores	1		
Canis familiaris (dog)	1	1	
Felis concolor (couger)		1	
Taxidea taxus (badger)	1	1	
Gallus gallus (chicken)	4/1		
Meleagris gallopavo (turkey)	1		
Spermophilus ap. (ground squirrels)			5/1
Castoridae (beavers)		1	
Buteo jamaicensis (red-tailed hawk)		2/1	
TOTAL NISP	122	208	100
TOTAL MNI	19	24	21

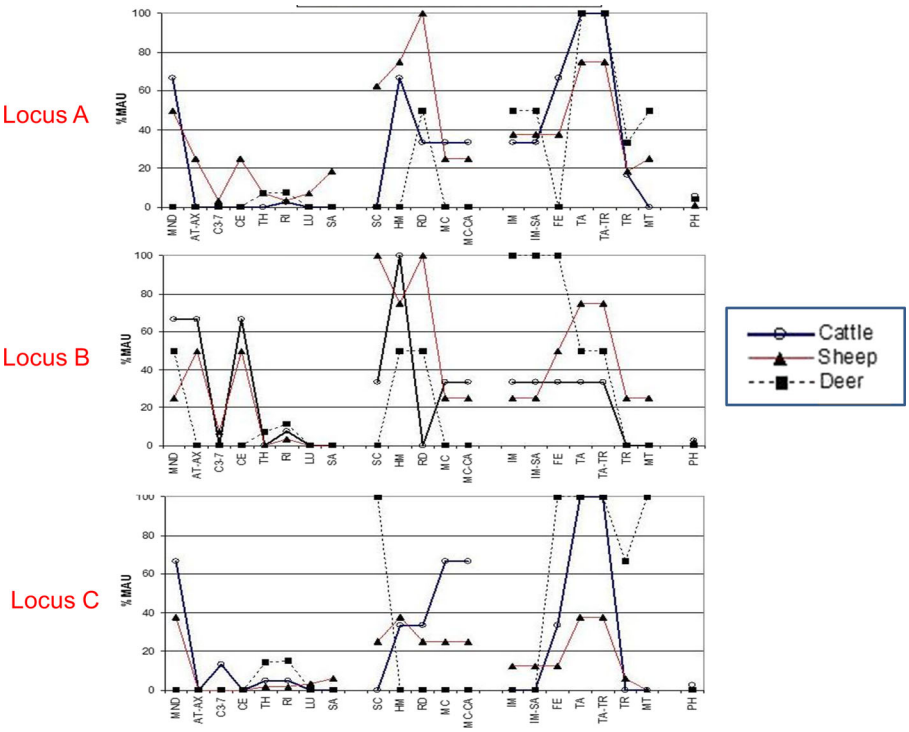

Fig. 3 Skeletal element Abundance profiles for cattle, sheep, and deer at each locus

common than axial elements. The handling of species includes indications that cutting with metal knives and chopping, rather than sawing (Pavao-Zuckerman and LaMotta 2007:249) was most commonly used to butcher or process meat. There is minimal evidence for the use of stone tools on domestic cattle, turkeys, and caprines or wild species such as elk and antelope (Fig. 4). After butchery, cooking and refuse disposal of the fauna left burn marks on the elements of wild ruminants (antelope and elk) and domestic caprines (goat and sheep). Higher burning temperatures, as evidenced by gradients in color (Shipman et al. 1984) were less frequently observed, suggesting that Locus A bones were less thermally altered by preparation or disposal (Fig. 5). The low amounts of burning likely resulted from only the long bone ends being exposed to direct heat during cooking as water-bearing soft tissues desiccated and withdrew from the margins, exposing bone to flames. In contrast, a lack of exposure to direct flame in

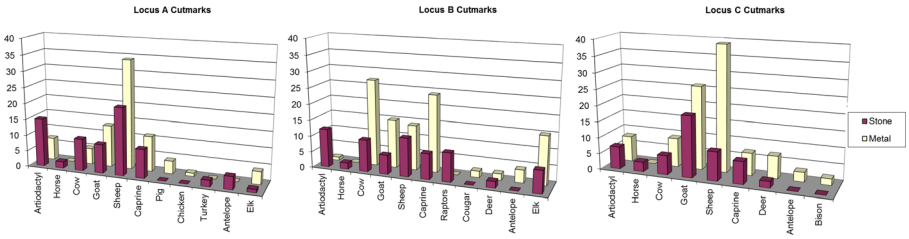

Fig. 4 Percentages of fauna in each locus with metal or stone cut marks

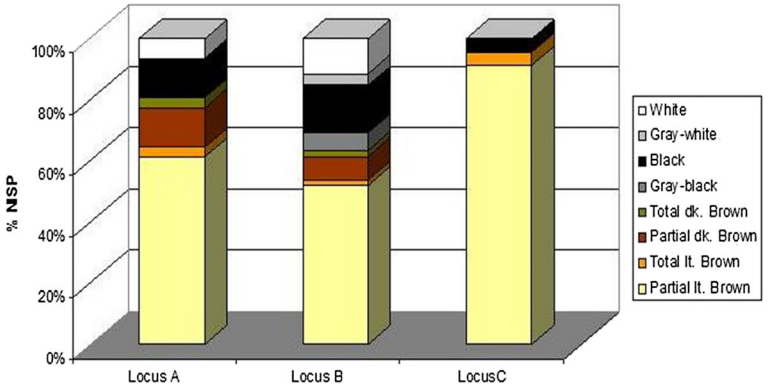

Fig. 5 Distribution of burning by locus

smaller pieces of bone may be related to lower, water-buffered temperatures in stews or similar boiling processes that may ultimately be corroborated by residue analysis of plentiful cooking vessel fragments at Casitas.

Locus B manifests as a broad slope scatter spilling down into the arroyo to the north of the main plazuela quadrangle. The faunal assemblage from this locus (NISP = 556, MNI = 24) is comprised mostly of cow, sheep, and goat, yet represents access to wild species of raptors, carnivores, and ruminants unique to the site (see Table 1). While many recovered faunal elements represent food resources, it is likely that several (such as the raptor wing modified by stone tools in the process of plumage removal) are associated with ritual use and provided paraphernalia rather than calories. From the perspective of portions, Locus B differs from the other two loci in its relatively lower proportions of cattle hindquarters though some heavily muscled appendicular portions are represented along with the axial skeleton (e.g., mandibles, cervical vertebrae) and distal limb bones (e.g., tarsals) of domesticates that would have been commonly used in stews. The handling of these faunas includes the use of metal and stone tools on some domesticate faunas and stone tools to process elk, domestic cattle, and raptors. Compared to the other loci, metal cut mark frequencies on cattle, elk, and caprine elements are elevated for Locus B (Fig. 4). Patterns of burning of bones in Locus B were similar to Locus A, yet with more stages of burning, suggestive of exposure of entire elements to fire (Fig. 5).

Locus C is unique from the other two loci in that it appears to be the result of household trash deposition in a disused room in the southeast corner of the main quadrangle, though this has been observed at other colonial-era sites (e.g. Chapman et al. 1977). There is far too much material accumulated at this locus than can be accounted for by accidental loss in the kind of well-plastered and swept rooms present in other parts of the site. The faunal assemblage from this locus (NISP = 282, MNI = 21) is comprised of a mix of large domesticates, especially herded caprines, along with wild deer and bison (Table 1). Axial skeletons (except for deer ribs and mandibles) are underrepresented in this collection in comparison to the appendicular skeleton of large game, yet there are many elements present that would be associated with stew meats (e.g., mandible, vertebrae, and tarsals) rather than larger portion, individual cuts (see Fig. 3). Locus C has more deer hindquarters portions than sheep, and fewer sheep portions overall than the other two loci. The bones show evidence for processing by both stone

and metal tools, and stone dominates for handling of deer while metal was used primarily to process domestic artiodactyls. Metal cut marks in this locus outrank the other loci proportionately on deer and sheep elements, while stone tool cut marks are proportionally high for goat in Locus C (see Fig. 4). The burn colors on faunal elements from Locus C show the least amount of heat alteration among the assemblages, and only a few elements have blackening from low temperatures (see Fig. 5).

Discussion

Examination of where animal remains were located and exhibited modifications in disposal loci across the site suggests a distinct and uneven distribution and handling of taxa. By grouping the taxonomic counts into domesticate and wild species, the inequalities in the proportion of animal types at each locus become more apparent. It is unsurprising that in a late colonial New Mexican site, the remains of cow, sheep, and goats dominate all disposal loci. But Locus A is the only location where chicken remains were recovered and pig resources were found. To this day, swine rearing is a risky business in the high altitude conditions of the Rito Colorado Valley and even successful local livestock operations report difficulties in keeping pigs happy and healthy (Martinez 2005). After the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from Moorish occupiers, eating pork was one quotidian proof of not only Catholic subscription, but also a potential test of crypto-Judaism (Hordes 2008; Kunin 2001). Furthermore, Locus A is also the only disposal location that is completely devoid of horse and bison elements, the former potentially abhorrent to consume (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001; Rabasa 2000), the latter demonstrative of ties to erstwhile enemies of the Plains. In a Spanish Colonial world in the grip of the Inquisition, and with infamous witch trials occurring in Casitas Viejas' mother village of Abiquiú just to the south (Ebright and Hendricks 2006), the prescription of pork and proscription of horse at Locus A is unique in how they may have paralleled assemblages from colonial deposits at Santa Fe (Bowen 1995; Snow and Bowen 1995).

Further inequalities in the proportion of animal types at each locus become apparent with respect to access to and acquisition of wild species. All loci contain deer, elk, and antelope but only Loci B and C contain bison, a species that would not have been easily available in close proximity to the Rito Colorado Valley, but obtainable in trade from the very nomadic groups from which the colonial settlement was meant to defend against. Furthermore, Locus B has the largest number of wild species represented, including carnivores such as cougar and badger, which were absent at the other two loci. A further notable taxonomic representation at Locus B is observed in the non-domestic avifauna. Raptors occur solely at Locus B. Overall, with respect to selection of native species, Locus B stands out as the most diverse sub-assemblage at Casitas and the only one with multiple species known to be important in precontact Pueblo ritual practices (Clark and Eckert 2004; McKusick 1982; Potter 1997).

To generalize perspectives on portioning differences among the three disposal loci suggests less emphasis on beef portions from the largest muscle groups at Locus B than the other two loci, while Locus C seems to have made up for less mutton than evidenced at the other loci by supplementing with deer. This trend at Locus C parallels a concomitant increase in use of stone tools to process animals. Locus B seems to be

complicated by lower quantities of the skeletal portions associated with larger muscle groups, especially as compared to Locus A. It has been pointed out (Spielmann 1991) that an understanding of Pueblo versus Plains butchery patterns is a frustration for Southwestern zooarchaeology. In this context, it is possible to see selectivity without necessarily assigning particular cultural valences.

Examination of cut marks on the faunal elements initially suggests two distinct provisioning structures in the grazing to gravy habits of faunal use at Casitas. Among the domesticated species, metal cut marks dominate at the site, suggesting that near-site butchery of shepherded stock are associated with a reliable access to metal knives. Metal marks are also associated with likely imported bison and antelope elements, breaking down this dichotomy of provisioning structures. It is possible that with two significant lithic sources nearby, obsidian from the Valles Caldera and chert from Pedernal, that stone tool cut mark frequency might be obscured from lesser representation of obsidian butchery work (Dewbury and Russell 2007). Cuts targeting muscle insertions, rather than blunt force or fracturing blows characterize the marks, suggesting less emphasis on grease rendering and more on meat removal (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011, p. 10). It was often noted that nomadic raiders in conflict with the colony were better equipped than the colonists, potentially with metal knives obtained from frequent trade fairs. Hunting afield in a territory notorious for raiding was itself a high-stakes activity marked both by extreme risk and potential for collaborations and kinship-building that may well have added flavor to the meaning of game animals at Casitas (Russell and Martin 2012, p. 93). Furthermore, the use of stone tools in the butchery of a horse challenges expectations about who might have prepared animals for food use and where such butchery occurred. At Casitas, more than one horse exhibited cut marks that suggest the defleshing of major muscle groups, as well as potentially related burn patterns (Subías 2002, p. 11) that could represent roasting of meat on the bone. The relative lack of carnivore modifications on these elements suggests that they were used primarily as food for people, rather than for dogs (Blumenschine and Marean 1993; Shipman 1986).

Selectivity in the size of pieces and whole elements (94% smaller than 8 cm maximum dimension) demonstrated in faunal reduction patterns at Casitas suggests that they were intended for presentation and consumption in individual serving-sized ceramic vessels. At Casitas, many of these wares were standardized in form, size, decoration and had ring bases meant to sit on tabletops (Sunseri 2009). Where might a cuisine that included potentially prohibited horse meat (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001; Rabasa 2000) have fit into notions of proper table settings of individual servings in ceramic vessels exhibiting particular colonial serving forms?

Other cutmark modifications are less compelling as food evidence, yet would have been challenging to Colonial sensibilities in other ways. While they are rare in the assemblage, the raptor elements show evidence of cutting with stone tools. These elements include scapula with disarticulation marks and a metacarpal with high intensities of cut marks, suggesting wing and feather removal. The shallowness and precision of these cut marks might have otherwise been interpreted as care taken in processing meat from these wing elements. If it is possible that processing of these raptor elements was linked primarily with plumage extraction, then it could reflect continuity from precontact indigenous ritual contexts (Clark and Eckert 2004; McKusick 1982; Potter 1997) rather than cuisine.

At first blush, the material evidence left at each of the loci may be attributed to people of only one heritage (say, "Pueblo" people at Locus B). Other animal use in the same Locus B assemblage suggests a syncretism of practice not easily explained by a single ascription of heritage and identity. For example, the dearth of rabbits and jackrabbits in the assemblage as a whole is a noticeable departure from other Pueblo sites, such as what was observed in the archaeofauna from the colonial era Pueblo site of Paa-ko (Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007) or at the ancestral Pueblo site of Arroyo Hondo (Lang and Harris 1984). Also complicating this locus is the evidence that cuisine was at least sometimes served in individual serving vessels of colonial forms scored with cutlery marks. Hence, not only do acculturative hypotheses for behavior not hold true, but creolized practices also do not occur in patterns that reflect a mix of practices in ways which were shared across the community. Throughout the disposal loci and between stages of production and consumption, the traces of everyday practice sort out much less uniformly than an historical trope of gradual community homogenization might suggest.

Overall, foodways evidence from Casitas Viejas complicates and provides depth to discussions of culinary performances enacted by people in eighteenth-century New Mexico. If Colonial Northern New Mexican cuisine choices were informed by historically defined "moral imperatives" of reproducing Spanish foodways, then only famine could force proper *vecinos* to eat foods associated with native Pueblo (Trigg 2004, p. 236) tastes, or what could have been perceived as worse, "*indio bárbaro*" (Weber 2005) cuisines. On the other hand, if foods closest to those from Spain were desirable because of their symbolic connection with the upper classes of colonial society, wealth and status may have been performative aspects of social difference evidenced through individual households' cuisines.

At Casitas Viejas, faunal material evidence suggests that animal-based foods were negotiations of status on many levels and in several dimensions. Evidence of Locus B's repeated digression from Spanish conventions may not necessarily have been as connected to behavior perceived as more appropriate to lower *casta* statuses in the same manner as that which contributed to Locus C. Rather, such practices may have been in accordance with different associations of indigenous rules of behavior, potentially differentiated along lines of sedentary farming villagers as *la gente de razón* versus the nomadic raiders linked to notions of *indios bárbaros* (Weber 2005). In terms of the households that contributed to the deposition of culinary refuse at each disposal loci, many cross-cutting and syncretic practices were evidenced. Networks of access to certain animals seems constrained, as evidenced by the lack of bison at Locus A, although a sense of strong adherence to Santa Fe-style colonial habitus pervades the use of foodway-related material there. Rather, when taken in tandem the fauna (and ceramics) of Locus A suggests table settings of matching, individual servings and cuts of meat.

Locus C evidence parallels the themes read from Locus A, but maybe at a lower economic index. Domestic animal presence is similar to Locus A, but the portions of animals consumed by contributors to Locus C consistently indicate less breadth and depth to diet than in the more diverse neighboring loci. People who created this disposal locus incorporated little pork or wild carnivores, but shared in some aspects of horse and bison consumption evidenced with Locus B. Given the use of horse as food, the predilection for the use of wild species (and the great breadth and depth of

pottery sources and functions at this locus), it would be hard to categorize the behaviors evidenced at Locus B as aligned with *vecino* tastes described elsewhere in the colony (Atherton 2013; Snow and Bowen 1995; Trigg 2004). The greater use of metal tools in subdividing protein-rich animal portions as well as flavorful axial elements and the high quality of standardized and polished serving vessels, contrasts with the greater use of slipped micaceous pots (the second-best kind for beans) and less use of more meat-bearing domesticate hind and forelimbs. These contrasts complicate interpretations about homogenizing trends in status-related foodways practices.

This is compelling evidence particularly when set in context with behavior in New Mexico that has been interpreted as that of wealthy colonists maintaining Spanish foodways to differentiate themselves from less affluent households (Trigg 2004, p. 238). On the northern frontier, nomadic groups were powerful brokers of alliance and trade (Blackhawk 2007; Brooks 2002). Perhaps the people who contributed to the Locus B sub-assemblage were able to mobilize many, interconnected aspects of affinity with a range of indigenous people on this frontier. Such strategies may have served to elevate their social status in ways reflected in the diversity of faunal materials at Locus B.

Conclusion

Although scholars of Indo-Hispano Northern New Mexico have argued that close kin relations linked families who lived around little fortified plazuelas like the one at Casitas (Swadesh 1974; Van Ness 1991), differences in faunal assemblages (and thus foodways) between distinct disposal loci make any notion of a homogenous corporate community problematic. Within the larger grouping of colonial citizens, smaller categories of group identities such as Genízaro were perhaps not as unified as historical sources might suggest. There is little doubt that this site represents a satellite of the Genízaro outpost of Abiquiú, and was positioned in the Rito Colorado Valley as part of a larger set of tactical decisions. Concurrent with those strategies, but at smaller scales and in daily practice, identity, and status differentiation among lower *casta* people were enacted along lines that colonial elites might not have imagined. For those who lived, raised families, and died at Casitas, internal politics and cross-cultural fluency were dynamics that played out differently on hearths around the central courtyard than they did on scales that united them in the goal of keeping possession of their land grant.

Zooarchaeological remains provides evidence of ingredients associated with Genizaro foodways. The suite of animals represented by the assemblage is a mix of domestic and wild fauna that compares with other colonial taxon lists (Binford 1979; Chapman et al. 1977; Hunter-Anderson et al. 1979; Schutt 1979; Snow 1993; Trigg 2005). It is distinguished from indigenous foodways evidenced at late pre-colonial and early colonial sites (Bartlett 1931; Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007; Lang and Harris 1984) by its low proportion of rabbits (lagomorphs) and complex differences in the use of wild and domesticate animal portions. Data from three archaeological loci suggest that settlers at Casitas were making full use of the animal resources available to them locally and, importantly, additional species through trade. The exchange of such animal products may have been advantageous to maintaining social transactions along a continuum of values (Spielmann 2002, p. 202) and those relationships may be corroborated by the presence of fine Tewa and Keres Pueblo pottery or colonial place

settings at Casitas. In a settlement likely established and headed by Genízaros, and within that ostensibly homogeneous category, faunal data suggest that substantial differences in household levels of "Hispanicization," wealth, and relations with other Native American groups existed.

The archaeological evidence for household foodways practices at Casitas suggests that use of animals was embedded in a complex of meanings that complicates simple categorizations of identity for those who lived there. As a heritage resource located close to its contemporary descendant community, the narratives of identity performance and linkages to foodways materials are potentially laden with meanings related to current struggles for self-determination. In turn, those struggles are often affected by identity labels ascribed by government agencies, institutions, and researchers referring to the documentary and archaeological records. Faunal data, studied as one of multiple lines of artifact and spatial evidence, suggest the inhabitants of Casitas tried to inhabit a middle ground of existence. In these border lands, homogenization and sole identification with the colonizers may have been a serious liability. Trade, even with the ostensible enemy, and use of local animals was likely essential to survival.

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